DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NEGRO AND WHITE SCHOOL CHILDREN IN CONFORMING BEHAVIOR

By

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TO MY WONDERFUL

SHARI

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Conformity may be defined as behavior that is intended to correspond with the perceived normative expectations of one's social group. Experimental studies of conforming behavior have represented a sizeable proportion of the work of social psychologists since the early demonstrations by Sherif (1936) and particularly by Asch (1951). Such laboratory research has demonstrated that the determinants of conforming behavior may be classified into at least three broad categories: (1) the task stimulus, e.g., ambiguity, (2) the source of influence, e.g., size of majority, and (3) the characteristics of the individual, e.g., personality dispositions.

These experimental findings should have implications for understanding the dynamics of human behavior in the natural setting. For instance, conforming behavior is extremely relevant to the problem of interracial interaction. The American society is critically involved in the Negro Americans' struggle to become assimilated as equal status citizens into the majority white society. As the Negro movement intensifies and gains are made, an inevitable consequence is increased biracial contact in all channels of social interaction. One point of confrontation is the classroom wherein the effects of the reciprocal social influence of Negro and white children will represent a crucial determinant of the degree of success of the integration process.

The primary objective of the present investigation was to study the reactions of Negro and white children who were exposed to conformity pressures from peers representing their own ethnic group and from peers representing the other ethnic group. Two of the three classes of determinants of conformity, source of influence and individual differences, were regarded as pertinent to this study.

Determinants of Conforming Behavior

Many variables, classified as characteristics of the source of influence or of the individual, have been studied as factors affecting conformity. However, the following discussion deals only with those variables considered relevant to the present study.

Source of Social Influence

The nature of the source of influence is pertinent because the study involved a comparison of the differential effects upon conformity of unanimous and nonunanimous majorities and variations in the ethnic composition of the groups. In a series of studies, Asch (1951; 1952; 1955) compared the effects upon conformity of unanimous and nonunanimous majority pressure. His procedure in a unanimous majority situation involved one naive subject making visual judgments after other subjects who had been pre-instructed to respond incorrectly on certain trials. Asch found that of the total number of judgments made by his subjects on the critical trials, approximately a third agreed with the erroneous estimates given by the group. However, when a subject received support from another member of the group, who gave correct responses throughout the task, the number of yielding responses dropped from about 33 per cent to 5 per cent. Asch's findings indicate that receiving social support for one's position decreases one's tendency to conform and suggests that social isolation is a major cause of one's susceptibility to being influenced by a group.

Negroes and whites generally are considered as representing different levels of status in the American society. Related to this fact is that the status of the source of influence, relative to the individual, is an important variable to consider in predicting the individual's reaction. Unfortunately, the relationship between status and conformity is complicated by the numerous meanings attached to the former concept. For the purposes of this review, several operational definitions of status will be discussed.

One characteristic of the source of influence which can be defined as a dimension of its status is the degree to which it is liked. Although there are exceptions, most studies (for a review see Allen, 1965) indicate that there is more conformity to liked than to disliked sources.

Another aspect of status is one's perceived competence in relation to others. Hovland and Weiss (1951-1952) suggest that differences in influence are due to the fact that high status persons are perceived as sources possessing high credibility in persuasive communication, whereas low status sources are less trustworthy. There has been a marked consistency of findings regarding the relationship between competence and conformity (e.g., Costanzo, Reitan, & Shaw, 1968; Fagen, 1963). There tends to be a negative relationship between how highly an individual evaluates his competence in relation to the competence of others and his susceptibility to their influence.

A third conceptualization of status is socioeconomic status which often implicitly includes the element of perceived competence. Two studies (Goldberg & Iverson, 1965; Vidulich & Kaiman, 1961) have demonstrated a positive relationship between conformity and socioeconomic status. For instance, in a study of compliance in opinions, Goldberg and Iverson (1965) manipulated status by introducing a partner either as a medical student (high status) or as a hospital orderly (low status). The results showed the subjects shifted their opinions more to conform with the high than with the low status partner.

The findings regarding the relationship between conformity and those dimensions of status just reviewed, while not unequivocal, are strongly suggestive. Persons tend to be more susceptible to the influence of those they like than dislike, whom they perceive as possessing greater competence than themselves, and who represent a superior social ranking.

Characteristics of the Individual

Is there a conforming personality? A number of writers (e.g., Blake & Mouton, 1961; Hovland & Janis, 1959) have contended that some personality variables definitely are linked with conforming behavior. More recently, however, several writers (e.g., Hollander & Willis, 1967; Steiner & Vannoy, 1966) have pointed out that the experimental evidence has been noticeably inconsistent. Personality variables that are significantly associated with conformity in some studies show an absence of or even a reverse relationship in other studies. Hollander and Willis (1967) and Hunt (1965) acknowledge that in any particular situation individual differences are invariably in operation; however, they argue that one's conforming behavior is likely to vary from situation to situation. They maintain that while both the individual personality and the characteristics of the situation contribute to variability in behavior, it is the interaction between personality factors and situational factors that account for most of the variance. With these qualifications in mind, several characteristics of the individual which are relevant to the present investigation now will be considered.

Sex differences in conformity are frequently found, with females demonstrating more conforming behavior than males. College females have been reported to conform more than college males in studies employing Crutchfield's (1955) modification of Asch's (1951) procedure (e.g., Crutchfield, 1955; Reitan & Shaw, 1964; Tuddenham, 1958). Nonsignificant differences between males and females have been found using the Crutchfield method with college students (Phelps & Meyer, 1966) and with older subjects (Tuddenham, 1958). Most directly pertinent are those studies dealing with the conformity of children. Using the Crutchfield procedure with 11 year olds, Tuddenham (1961) found girls conformed more than boys on a visual judgment task. Significant sex differences among elementary school children also have been found by Millsom (1966) and Iscoe, Williams, and Harvey (1963) on click-counting tasks, and by Carrigan and Julian (1966) on a task involving the selection of appropriate story descriptions for a set of pictures. Nonsignificant differences with Crutchfield's technique were reported by Costanzo and Shaw (1966) who studied conformity in four groups ranging in age from 7 to 21 years; however, all differences were in the usual direction. Thus, research strongly indicates that sex differences in conforming behavior are common, with males displaying greater resistance to social influence. When differences are nonsignificant, they are in the expected direction.

The view that anxiety is an important variable to consider in the study of conformity is substantiated by studies that have demonstrated that conforming to the influence of others is accompanied by decrements in physiological indicators of anxiety (Hoffman, 1957; Lawson & Stagner, 1957). There have been a number of studies which have sought to determine how one's level of anxiety influences his vulnerability to social pressure. If the multiplicity of definitions of anxiety are not recognized, the conflicting findings may easily lead to confusion. Fortunately, the inconsistent results appear only in studies dealing with chronic anxieties. For instance, inconsistencies are found in studies using the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (see Mangan, Quartermain, & Vaughan, 1960; Smith & Richards, 1967; Steiner & Vannoy, 1966; Vaughan, 1964).

On the other hand, the results of studies dealing with situational or experimentally induced anxiety solidly support the contention of Riesman (1950) that one's inclination to conform in a situation is closely related to the amount of fear aroused by the situation. In a recent study by Darley (1966), subjects who believed they were going to receive an electric shock conformed more in the Asch situation than unthreatened subjects. That increased situational anxiety has an augmentative effect upon conformity has also been demonstrated in four other studies (Sears, 1967; Sherif & Harvey, 1952; Smith & Richards, 1967; Walters, Marshall, & Shooter, 1960). The experiment by Sears, especially, has implications for the present study. Sears aroused social anxiety in some of his subjects by telling them that they would interact with a highly critical peer about a relatively unfamiliar issue. He found greater opinion change following a persuasive communication in aroused than in non-aroused subjects.

Recently, Costanzo (1967) interpreted Piaget's (1951) analysis of the development of morality as implying that morality and conformity are aspects of the same internalization process--one which involves the adoption of the social rules that define normative behavior. Individuals who have strongly internalized the behavioral rules are more likely to feel moral guilt when they deviate from normative expectations. As a consequence, such persons are more likely to blame themselves for their transgressions and, therefore, to conform to avoid the anxiety generated by nonconforming. Costanzo concluded that according to this viewpoint morality is essentially conforming to group norms. From post-experimental inquiries, Costanzo and Shaw (1966) discovered that those subjects who attributed responsibility to themselves for the discrepancy between their own judgments and the group's judgment conformed more than those who attributed the blame to the group. In a follow-up study, Costanzo (1967) developed a scale to measure one's tendency to blame oneself for the negative consequences of social interaction. Costanzo found a high positive relationship between _self-blame_ and conformity both within and across four age groups (7-8, 12-13, 16-17, and 19-21 years). The correlations ranged from .46 to .78. The strength of the relationship between self-blame and conformity is striking, considering the fact that when significant correlations between conformity and personality traits are found, they usually are much lower.

In spite of the arguments to the contrary, certain characteristics of the individual do seem to make him more or less amenable to conformity pressures. It appears that females generally conform more than males, and persons who temporarily become anxious in social situations conform more than less easily aroused individuals. Also, there is evidence that suggests that those who blame themselves for the negative effects of social interaction conform more than those inclined to blame someone else.

Studies of Negro-White Interaction

This section reviews experimental evidence on the social psychological effects of Negro-white interaction. Researchers have studied Negro and white reactions to biracial situations from two different perspectives. Studies dealing with the behavior of whites largely have been restricted to an assessment of the association between ethnic attitudes and overt behavior, whereas studies involving Negro subjects have concentrated on the consequences of biracial interaction upon their performance on a variety of verbal and nonverbal tasks.

Reactions of Whites to Social Interaction with Negroes

Especially relevant to the present study are four investigations in which white college students were subjected to the social influence of Negroes. Using an autokinetic setup, Bray (1950) found that highly prejudiced persons were just as influenced by the judgments of a confederate when he was a Negro as when he was white, whereas those scoring low in prejudice conformed more to the Negro than to the white confederate. Malof and Lott (1962) placed a naive subject among four white confederates and one Negro confederate in an Asch situation. After being opposed by a unanimous majority for several trials, the subject received judgmental support from one confederate for the remaining trials. As expected, the low prejudice subjects accepted the support and conformed less, regardless of the confederate's skin color. However, contrary to the experimental hypothesis, there was only a nonsignificant trend for the high prejudice subjects to more readily accept the support from a white group member than from the Negro member. Berg (1966) reviewed the preceding studies and attempted to contrive a situation in which overt behavior would correspond with ethnic attitude. An autokinetic task was arranged so that the subjects were placed in a conflict between agreeing with a white or Negro confederate. Once again, the predicted relationship was not supported. The results indicated the subjects' responses on several attitude measures were not significantly associated with agreement with the Negro confederate. In addition, Katz and Benjamin (1960) report that high authoritarians were more influenced by Negro than by white partners on group problem-solving tasks. Further support for the discrepancy between attitudes toward Negroes and overt behavior has been provided by other laboratory studies (e.g., DeFleur & Westie, 1958; Linn, 1965).

The evidence from these studies seems clear--predictions of the interracial behavior of white college students based on their responses to attitude scales are consistently unreliable. All of the authors of the studies offered interpretations for their failures to confirm their predictions. Two of the explanations advanced were that the Negro confederates may not have been perceived as being representative of their ethnic group and that judgments about visual stimuli do not possess enough social relevance to evoke attitude-determined behavior. Several writers concluded that the laboratory situation had a greater impact than ethnic attitudes upon behavior. This conclusion supports Pettigrew's (1961) observation that behavior toward ethnic minorities is strongly determined by considerations of adapting to the specific social situation.

Reactions of Negroes to Social Interaction with Whites

Before considering the reaction of Negroes to social interaction with whites, it may be helpful to recognize some of the feelings which many Negroes have regarding themselves. A statement made by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (1957) succinctly summarizes the observations of numerous students of the Negro personality:

> Wherever segregation occurs, one group, in this instance the Negroes, always suffers from inferior social status. The damaging effects of this are reflected in unrealistic inferiority feelings, a sense of humiliation, and constriction of potentialities for self-development. This often results in a pattern of self-hatred and rejection of one's own group, sometimes expressed by antisocial behavior toward one's own group or the dominant group. These attitudes seriously affect the levels of aspiration, the capacity to learn, and the capacity to relate in interpersonal situations. (p. 10)

Many studies have uncovered the Negroes' marked feelings of self-derogation and rejection, even among children (e.g., Clark, 1963; Epstein & Komorita, 1966).

Largely because of his feelings of social and intellectual inferiority, the Negro responds anxiously to novel encounters with representatives of the white majority. Katz and his co-workers (Katz, 1964) have found that Negro college students often perform more poorly when observed in biracial situations than when performing among themselves and have attributed such decrements in performance to the anxiety aroused by the threatening nature of the situation. Baratz (1967) has shown that such anxiety can be elicited by the presence of a white person. Negro college students who completed a test anxiety scale administered by a white examiner reported more anxiety than subjects tested by a Negro examiner. Generalizing from his laboratory findings, Katz (1964) affirmed that the Negro child probably experiences social threat in newly integrated schools. In support of this expectation, Pugh (1943) found greater anxiety among Negro students in integrated than in segregated schools.

Several studies have demonstrated the feelings of social and intellectual inadequacy which characterize Negro college students while interacting with whites in both co-operative and competitive situations (Katz & Benjamin, 1960; Katz & Cohen, 1962; Katz, Goldston, & Benjamin, 1958; Preston & Bayton, 1941). For instance, in the Katz and Benjamin study, groups of four students, two Negroes and two whites, worked together for a total of 12½ hours on various cognitive and motor tasks. Despite the experimental manipulations which made equality of ability a salient factor, the Negro subjects rated their own performance as inferior to that of the whites and interacted with them in a socially inhibited and subservient manner. Similarly, Katz and Cohen found that in co-operative problem solving, Negroes passively accepted the suggestions of their white partners even when the Negroes possessed the correct solution and were certain that the whites had to be wrong. Two other studies (Katz, Epps, & Axelson, 1964; Katz, Roberts, and Robinson, 1965) directly focussed on the reduction in the Negro's feeling of intellectual competency resulting from the anticipation of being evaluated according to the whites' standards of performance.

Pettigrew (1964) has suggested that sweeping changes of recent years, exemplified by the impetus of the civil rights movement, may be healing the wounds of the Negro's confused identity and self-esteem. It is likely that school integration will have similar positive effects upon school children. Singer (1967) has provided evidence in support of this expectation. Both white and Negro children in an unsegregated school were more willing than children from segregated schools to associate with peers of the other ethnic group. Several studies have shown that under conditions favorable to the Negro he can be encouraged to display greater assertiveness and self-confidence. Katz and Cohen (1962) induced greater assertiveness and autonomy in Negroes by forcing them to disagree openly with their white partners. Lefcourt and Ladwig (1965) found that Negroes displayed more persistence in a biracial competitive task when they evaluated the task as related to success in a role that has positive reinforcement value for them and as one with which they previously had been successful. Therefore, it appears that although Negroes normally display a general lack of self-confidence in their interactions with whites, under favorable circumstances they respond in the self-assured manner of social and intellectual equals.

Problem

As stated in the introduction, this investigation involved a comparison of the conformity of Negro and white children. Only one experimental study has been reported that deals with Negro-white differences in conformity. Iscoe, Williams, and Harvey (1964) used a click-counting task to study the conforming of Negro and white children from segregated schools to the influence of peers of their own ethnic group. The sample consisted of urban 7, 9, 12, and 15 year olds. The effect of ethnicity and an ethnic x sex interaction showed that the Negro children conformed less that the white children; however, the difference was due entirely to the large divergence between the white and Negro females. The authors attributed the discrepancy to differences in child-rearing practices, wherein Negro girls are expected to display greater autonomy than white girls. In addition to testing the generality of results of Iscoe, Williams, and Harvey, the present study extended the investigation of Negro-white differences in conformity to an analysis of the effect of differences in the ethnic composition of the source of influence.

Hypotheses

The studies of white subjects' reactions to the influence of Negroes indicate that white college students seem to be as susceptible to influence pressures from Negroes as from whites. However, there were several important distinctions between those studies and the present study. The subjects in this study were school children, and it was possible that they would be less guided than college students by norms dictating socially desirable behavior and by norms reflecting the liberal values characteristic of many colleges. In addition, the children had experienced prior interaction with each other, whereas the Negroes and whites used in other studies were almost always unacquainted with each other. Since the consequences of such differences were difficult to predict, in accordance with the evidence from previous research, the following hypothesis was made:

Hypothesis 1. There will be no difference in the amount of conformity displayed by white children to a unanimous majority of white peers and to a unanimous majority of Negro peers.

The uncertain consequences of distinctions between earlier studies and the present one also applied to the Negroes' behavior. However, the experimental evidence provides a rather clearcut prediction of how Negroes respond in a conformity situation with whites. Negroes react to interactions with whites with anxiety and submissiveness, both of which are conducive to conformity. As a result of their common educational experience, the Negro children were likely to perceive their white peers as representing a higher social status and as more competent than themselves. The latter expectation assumed that perceived ability would generalize from the classroom to the laboratory. Such factors suggested the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2. The Negro children will conform more to a unanimous majority of white peers than to a unanimous majority of Negro peers.

The results of the study by Iscoe, Williams, and Harvey (1964) and of the studies dealing with sex differences in conformity suggest how Negro and white children respond to influence pressures from a unanimous majority of peers representing their own ethnic group.

Hypothesis 3. Negro males, Negro females, and white males will display similar amounts of conformity to a unanimous majority of peers of their own ethnic group and less conformity than white females.

The literature suggests that individuals are more susceptible to conformity pressures arising from unanimous than from nonunanimous majorities.

Hypothesis 4. Both Negro and white children will conform less to a nonunanimous majority than to a unanimous majority of peers.

The evidence also suggests that a white person, when opposed by a majority of group members, accepts the support of a Negro as readily as the support of a white. There was little reason to expect the case to be otherwise for the Negro subject.

Hypothesis 5. Both Negro and white children will accept judgmental support from a member of the other ethnic group just as readily as from a member of their own ethnic group.

In spite of the studies which found no strong association between verbally expressed attitudes and overt behavior, a positive relationship was predicted. The prediction was based on the evidence that people tend to conform more to liked sources of influence than to disliked sources. The assumption was made that the children would be less constrained than college students by the norms of social desirability and other factors working against the expression of attitudes in overt behavior.

Hypothesis 6. For both Negro and white children, there will be a positive relationship between the favorableness of their attitudes toward the other ethnic group and their conformity to a unanimous majority of peers representing the other ethnic group.

Hypothesis 7. For both Negro and white children there will be a positive relationship between the favorableness of their attitudes toward the other ethnic group and their acceptance of judgmental support from a peer representing the other ethnic group.

The literature review also supplied evidence for the remaining hypotheses.

Hypothesis 8. A positive relationship will be found between self-blame and conformity.

Hypothesis 9. The children, especially the Negroes, will report more anxiety after experiencing opposition from a majority of peers representing the other ethnic group than from a majority of peers of their own ethnic group.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects were seventh and eighth graders from an urban junior high school of approximately 300 Negroes and 1,500 whites. About four-fifths of the children attended segregated schools before beginning seventh grade in the junior high school. In the final analysis, the data from 48 males and 48 females of each ethnic group were used, making a total of 192 subjects. Approximately two-thirds of the subjects run in each experimental condition were seventh graders. A lack of eighth grade Negro males prevented the use of an equal number of seventh and eighth grade subjects.

Experimental groups included four subjects of the same sex and grade level. Groups representing four variations in ethnic composition were used. They included all Negro groups, all white groups, groups of three Negroes and a white, and groups of three whites and a Negro. Except for considerations of ethnicity, sex, and grade level, assignment to the experimental conditions was randomized.

Experimental Conditions

The major dependent variable was conforming behavior. The independent variables included ethnic group, sex, majority size (unanimous or nonunanimous), source of unanimous majority pressure (own or other ethnic group), and source of support (own or other ethnic group) in a nonunanimous majority condition. The following matrix shows the 16 experimental conditions with 12 subjects per condition:

		Unanimous Majority		Nonunanimous Majority	
		Own Pressure	Other Pressure	Own Support	Other Support
Negro	Male	12	12	12	12
	Female	12	12	12	12
White	Male	12	12	12	12
	Female	12	12	12	12

Materials and Apparatus

The apparatus used to measure conformity was the same as that used by Costanzo and Shaw (1966) and similar to the one used by Crutchfield (1955). It consisted of five cubicles which faced a movie screen positioned 10 feet away. The center cubicle was occupied by the experimenter and contained a master panel of lights and switches and a Baesler opaque projector for projecting stimuli on the screen. A subject sat in each of the side cubicles. The subjects' cubicles contained a panel of four rows of five lights each, with five mercury switches placed below the fourth row of lights. In this study, only three switches and the first three lights in each row were used. When a switch was turned on, it activated the light immediately above it in the fourth row and a corresponding light on the experimenter's master panel. Although the subjects were instructed that the lights in the first three rows were controlled by the other subjects, they actually were controlled by the master switches in the experimenter's cubicle. Thus, the experimenter was able to record the responses of the subject and at the same time activate the lights in the subject's cubicle so that it appeared that the lights reflected the responses of the other subjects. To provide for the source of support condition, a slight modification of Costanzo's apparatus was required. Costanzo's apparatus enabled the experimenter only to simulate the same pattern of choices in all four of the subjects' booths. Three additional switches on the master panel were installed to permit the experimenter to activate one light in the third row of lights in one of the cubicles while simultaneously turning on a different light in the same row in three other cubicles. Thus, on the trials involving conformity pressure, the experimenter was able to make it appear to one subject that he was receiving support from another subject in his opposition to the erroneous choice of the two other group members.

The stimulus materials consisted of 25 cards, each of which had on it three different geometric figures (e.g., squares, rectangles, and triangles) which varied in size. Conformity occurred when a subject agreed with an erroneous choice of the majority by choosing the smallest geometric figure as the largest one. During the experiment, the subjects were given 15 opportunities to conform. Thus, a subject's over-all conformity score could range from 0 (no conformity) to 15 (total conformity).

In order to measure how anxiety provoking the conformity situation was, each subject indicated on a seven point scale (0-6) how nervous he felt during that phase of the experiment (see Appendix A-1).

The measure of self-blame consisted of Costanzo's (1967) self-blame scale (see Appendix A-2). The scale is comprised of a series of 12 incidents involving an interaction or confrontation of oneself with a peer. Each incident concludes with an undesirable outcome. In addition, six praise conducive incidents were included to avoid any unbeneficial consequences accruing from having the subjects consistently blaming themselves. For the measure of self-blame, respondents indicated on a five point scale the amount of blame they were willing to attribute to themselves for the negative consequences of each incident. Since there were 12 self-blame items, and the minimum score per item was 1 and the maximum was 5, the range of possible scores was from 12 to 60.

The instrument for measuring attitude toward the other ethnic group was a social distance scale devised by Miller and Biggs (1958) for their work with children (see Appendix A-3). Some of the wording was revised to render it more understandable for the present sample of subjects. The critical ethnic groups, Negro American and white American, were interspersed among several well-known ethnic groups. A subject's social distance score regarding a single ethnic group was the sum of his positive responses and could vary from 0 to 7, with high scores reflecting favorable feelings and low scores reflecting unfavorable feelings.

Procedure

All of the experimentation was carried out at the subjects' school. Four subjects at a time were instructed by their teachers to report to the experimental room. Once the four subjects had arrived, the experimenter introduced himself to them and briefly told them about himself and his purpose to give them an idea of the reason for their participation. The experimenter then assigned each subject his booth and gave the instructions on the nature of the task and the operation of the apparatus.

> I am going to show a number of cards on the screen you see in front of you. Here is a sample card. (Experimenter displays a sample card on the screen.) Each card will have three shapes or forms on it. Each form has a letter beneath it--A, B, or C. (Experimenter points to the figures and their corresponding letters.) You are to decide which one of the three forms has the largest area, that is, which one has the most space within it.
>
> In order to make a choice of the form you think has the biggest area, you will push up a switch on the panel next to you. Everyone look at his panel. On the panel are four rows of lights numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4, three columns lettered A, B, and C, and a row of switches. Therefore, if you are person number three, and on a particular slide you think that B is the right choice, you will push up on the switch below the letter B, and the light under B in the third row will be lit up on your panel. (Experimenter goes to each cubicle and instructs each subject to push up the switch he would if he thought B were the correct choice--the apparatus at this time was not plugged in.) Each of you will be given a number later on which will correspond to one of the rows numbered 1, 2, 3, or 4. Thus, when I call number one, he will light up either A, B, or C in row one, when I call number two, he will light up his choice, and so forth. If you are person number three, it does not mean that person two and person four are on each side of you. The numbers do not go in the order of the booths.
>
> Each group of three forms will be shown to you for three seconds. Then I will shut off the projector, and when I call your number, you are to press either switch A, B, or C, depending on which form you think is the right choice, that is, the biggest in area. Do not push the switch until I call your number. After you put on the switch, leave it on until I tell you to shut it off. Once you push up a switch, you cannot change your mind. Please do not talk, even to yourself, during the experiment. I am now going to come to each booth to explain anything that you did not understand about the instructions. When I come to your booth, I also will give you your number by showing you a small card with your number drawn on it. Before the actual experiment starts, we will have five practice trials. In these practice trials, you will go in no particular order; after I show the slide, I merely will say, "Choose," and all of you will flick your switches at the same time. During the practice trials when you push up your switch, your choice will light up in your row in your booth, but will not in the other booths. However, during the actual experiment, your choice will light up in all the booths, so everybody will know everybody else's choice. After the practice trials, the experiment will start and you will push your switch only when I call

> your number. I will say, "Number one," and he will push up his switch; then I'll say, "Number two," and he will push up his switch, and so forth. I know these instructions were long, so if you have any questions when I come to your booths, don't hesitate to ask them. After I start showing the cards, I cannot answer any more questions.

All subjects were assigned position number four in the order of responding. After the instructions were given and the experimenter felt confident that the subjects fully comprehended the procedure, the five practice trials were completed in order to determine the original response level of each subject and to further insure that the subjects understood the task.

Whereas the instructions for all the groups were identical, the social influence experiences of the subjects within different conditions were dissimilar. There were two types of influence situations: In one situation, a subject was opposed by a unanimous majority of three of either his own ethnic group or the other ethnic group. In the second type of situation, a subject found himself disagreeing with two members of his own ethnic group and agreeing with either a member of his own ethnic group or a member of the other ethnic group.

The instance in which a subject received agreement from a member of the other ethnic group required an additional experimental manipulation. The experimenter arranged the seating assignments so that one majority group member was led to believe that the representative of the other ethnic group was number three in the order of responding. On the critical trials, the experimenter activated the incorrect lights in the first two rows but the correct light in the third row. Thus, the subject perceived that the member of the other ethnic group agreed with him in his opposition to the judgment of the members of his own ethnic group. This manipulation was accomplished in the following manner: The experimenter first assigned two majority group members to their cubicles. Then, before seating the critical majority group member and the minority group member in adjacent booths, he hesitated to assure himself that the majority group member was aware of the identity of the person in the booth next to him. When the experimenter reached the critical majority group member during the assignment of the subjects' numbers, he first showed him number three; then, in a voice inaudible to the others, the experimenter told him that he had mistakingly given him the number of the subject in the adjacent booth and showed him that his number was actually four. All other subjects in all other conditions were merely shown that they were number four.

Therefore, in the ethnicly mixed groups, only the conforming responses of two subjects were of particular interest--one was the subject who faced a unanimous majority of the other ethnic group, and the other was the subject who received judgmental support from a member of the other ethnic group. The ethnicly homogeneous groups provided for two conditions--one in which subjects confronted unanimous majority pressures and another in which subjects received judgmental support from a member of their own ethnic group.

The test period consisted of 20 trials with the geometric stimuli. On 15 of the 20 trials, the experimenter simulated a peer majority (of either two or three, depending on the condition) of erroneous judgments. Each subject's conformity score was the number of times his choice corresponded with the erroneous judgment of the simulated majority.

Upon finishing the conformity task, the subjects completed the anxiety questionnaire.

Since it took two and one-half weeks to finish running all subjects in the conformity phase of the study, there existed the danger of collecting data from subjects who had been forewarned regarding the nature of the experiment. Two steps were taken to prevent this. At the end of the first session, after the subjects had answered the anxiety questionnaire, the experimenter explained the importance of refraining from talking to their classmates about the experiment.

> You have done a good job and have been very helpful. I want to make sure that you understand how important it is that when you leave here you do not speak with each other and to other students about the experiment. If you do talk to other kids about the experiment, the work that all of you just did and the contributions that the other kids have made will not be very useful. If the experiment is a success, the results of it will be published in a scientific magazine. That is why it is so important that everything works out well. In a week or two I am going to call all of you back together, and at that time will tell you that it is okay to talk to each other about the experiment.

A second preventative measure involved a pre-experimental inquiry to determine the extent to which the subjects had prior knowledge of the experiment. Right after the experimenter introduced himself to the subjects, he instructed them to select one of four statements, typed on a sheet of paper, which best described what they knew about the experiment (see Appendix A-4). Whenever a subject indicated that he thought he knew what the experiment was about, he was retained at the end of the experiment and "interrogated" by the experimenter to determine the accuracy of his foreknowledge. Also, the experimenter questioned a number of subjects who said they knew a little bit about the experiment. Of the several hundred children tested only two were found who were aware of the experimental deception and possessed some understanding of the experimenter's purpose. While it is probable that the screening techniques were not totally successful, it is likely that the great majority of subjects were "naive." One's confidence in this conclusion is enhanced by the many reports that were received, from parents as well as students, that a norm which prohibited talking about the experiment was established among those who had participated.

After all the subjects had been tested in the conformity situation, they were recalled in groups of approximately 65 each to finish testing. First, the subjects took the self-blame scale. The experimenter read to the subjects the instructions (see Appendix A-2). He was especially careful in his explanation of the system of responding whereby respondents indicate different amounts of blame or praise by choosing an appropriate sized box from the five which vertically descend in size for each item. Then each incident was read to the subjects who were instructed not to respond on their answer sheets until the incident had been read two times. The items were read to the subjects for two reasons: to try to nullify unwanted consequences from possible differences in reading ability, e.g., as between Negroes and whites; and to expedite testing to assure its completion within the 50 minutes which had been provided for it. Costanzo (1967) reliably used the reading technique with 7 and 8 year olds.

After the subjects completed the self-blame scale, the social distance scale was administered. The instructions were read by the experimenter (see Appendix A-3). Unlike the procedure for the self-blame scale, the items of the social distance scale were not read to the subjects. Due to the simple nature of the requirements for responding and to the item-to-item redundancy, the subjects were permitted to answer the scale on their own.

Personal data such as IQ, age, and socioeconomic status were taken from the school records. The intelligence measure was the Test of General Ability which is published by Science Research Associates, Inc. The test is unique in not requiring reading, arithmetic, or any other form of school achievement. Scores on the Test range from 1 to 9, with high scores reflecting high general intelligence. Socioeconomic status was determined by using the North-Hatt Scale of occupational prestige (North & Hatt, 1947). A subject's socioeconomic status was based on the prestige of his father's occupation (or mother's occupation if his father was absent from the family). Scores on the North-Hatt Scale range from 33 to 96, the higher the score, the higher the occupational prestige.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Before considering the analysis of conformity behavior, the results of several preliminary analyses will be reported. These analyses were completed to obviate the possibility of attributing significant differences in conformity to the effect of the independent variables when they actually were produced by extraneous factors.

In order to insure that the 16 conditions were made up of subjects of comparable age, a one way analysis of variance was carried out on scores representing the subjects' birth dates. To reduce the possibility of a type 2 error, which would involve the erroneous confirmation of no differences in age, the .10 level of significance was used instead of the conventional .05 level. The results of the analysis (see Appendix B-1) indicate the absence of significant differences in age across the 16 conditions. The mean age of the subjects was 13 years, 4 months. The birth dates of the subjects are presented by condition in Appendix C. Appendix C also includes raw data on all variables pertinent to this study.

Scatter plots suggested a negative relationship between general intelligence and conforming behavior. Follow-up correlations between IQ and conformity to one's own ethnic group and between IQ and conformity to the other ethnic group were -.22 (N=48) and -.42 (N=48), respectively. Of the two, only the latter is significant (.01 level).

Neither scatter plots nor correlations revealed a significant relationship between socioeconomic status and conformity. The correlation for subjects conforming to members of their own ethnic group was -.09 (N=41) and for subjects conforming to members of the other ethnic group was -.20 (N=47). Both correlations are nonsignificant.

The five practice trials, during which the subjects lacked information regarding the choices of others, provided an index of the subjects' ability to differentiate the sizes of the geometric stimuli. A record was kept of the errors made by the subjects on the five pre-experimental trials. An error was defined as choosing as the largest geometric figure the smallest one, which during critical trials of the experiment would have been simulated as the choice of the majority. Preliminary inspection showed the variance of the pre-experimental error scores was positively related to the mean of the error scores within each of the 16 conditions. Thus, in accordance with Winer (1962), the pre-experimental error scores were subjected to a square root transformation to make the variances of the conditions more homogeneous. The transformed mean error scores are shown in Table 1. A one way analysis of variance was carried out on error scores. Again, in order to lessen the possibility of a type 2 error, the .10 level of significance was used. The results of the analysis (see Appendix B-2) indicate that there were no significant differences in the number of errors made among subjects representing the 16 conditions. This indicates that subjects across conditions were not significantly dissimilar in their ability to discriminate the smallest of a set of three geometric figures. Therefore, a higher rate of conformity from one condition to another could not be accounted for in terms of

Table 1. Mean Number of Pre-experimental Errors Made in each Condition[a]

		Unanimous Majority		Nonunanimous Majority	
		Own Pressure	Other Pressure	Own Support	Other Support
Negro	Male	0.75	0.79	0.95	0.79
	Female	0.98	0.78	0.79	0.92
White	Male	0.79	0.88	1.03	0.87
	Female	0.91	0.95	0.97	1.08

[a] Raw scores are transformed, $x' = \sqrt{x + .5}$, with the amount of error varying directly with the size of the mean score.

differing tendencies to make erroneous responses regardless of the presence or absence of conformity pressure.

Retest reliability of the social distance scale and the self-blame scale was determined by readministering the scales one week after the subjects first took them. The retest reliability for Negroes on the social distance scale was r=+.61 (N=32) which is significant at the .001 level. For whites, r=+.36 (N=30) which is significant only at the .10 level. On the self-blame scale, the correlation between the two administrations was +.65 (N=51) which achieves the .001 level of significance. Of the 51 subjects approximately half were from each ethnic group.

Conformity

The preliminary analyses indicated that in the population under consideration conformity is negatively related to intelligence. Thus, the conformity data were analyzed by means of analyses of covariance, with IQ as the covariate. The analysis of covariance acted to control for the effect of IQ, and in the present study its main function was to prevent an interpretation of possible Negro-white differences in conformity as an artifact of differences in intelligence. As was the case with pre-experimental errors, the magnitude of the cell variances of the conformity scores was positively related to the size of the cell means. Consequently, conformity scores were subjected to square root transformations in the three analyses of covariance to be reported.

A 2 X 2 X 2 analysis of covariance was performed on conformity scores for subjects in the unanimous majority condition. The three factors were Ethnic group, Sex, and Source of Pressure. The means of the transformed conformity scores, adjusted for the regression coefficient, are presented in Table 2. The results of the analysis of covariance are summarized in Table 3 which shows the Ethnic X Source of Pressure interaction is the only significant source of variance. The interaction is represented graphically in Figure 1.

Four *F* tests were used to analyze the simple effects. The results indicate that the white subjects conformed significantly more to white peers than to Negro peers (*F*=4.79; *df*=1,87; $p < .05$). Also, whites conformed significantly more than did Negroes to members of their own ethnic group (*F*=4.38; *df*=1,87; $p < .05$). Nonsignificant differences were found between the amount Negroes and whites conformed to representatives of the other ethnic group, and between the degree Negroes conformed to Negro peers and the degree they conformed to white peers.

The preceding analysis of covariance provides evidence regarding the viability of two of the experimental hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. There will be no difference in the amount white children conform to a unanimous majority of white peers and to a unanimous majority of Negro peers.

Hypothesis 2. The Negro children will conform more to a unanimous majority of white peers than to a unanimous majority of Negro peers.

Hypothesis 1 is not supported by the results. It is evident in Figure 1 that the white subjects conformed less when faced with a unanimous majority of Negro peers than when faced with a unanimous majority of white peers.

Hypothesis 2 also is not supported. The ethnicity of the source of pressure failed to demonstrate a significant differential effect upon the conforming behavior of the Negro subjects. However, Figure 1 shows the difference tended in the predicted direction.

A second 2 X 2 X 2 analysis of covariance was completed to assess

Table 2. Adjusted[a] Mean Conformity Scores in the Unanimous Majority Condition[b]

		Own Pressure	Other Pressure
Negro	Male	2.28	2.73
	Female	2.46	2.66
White	Male	2.70	2.45
	Female	3.31	2.32

[a] Means are adjusted for the covariate, I.Q.

[b] Raw scores are transformed, $x'=\sqrt{x+.5}$, with the amount of conformity varying directly with the size of the mean score.

Table 3. Summary of Analysis of Covariance of Conformity Scores in the Unanimous Majority Condition[a]

Source	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic group (E)	1	0.48	0.50	N.S.
Sex (S)	1	0.51	0.54	N.S.
Source of Pressure (SP)	1	0.50	0.53	N.S.
E X S	1	0.21	0.22	N.S.
E X SP	1	5.34	5.56	$<.025$
S X SP	1	1.49	1.55	N.S.
E X S X SP	1	0.36	0.37	N.S.
Error: Within treatments	87	0.96		
Total	94			

[a] Raw scores are transformed, $x'=\sqrt{x + .5}$.

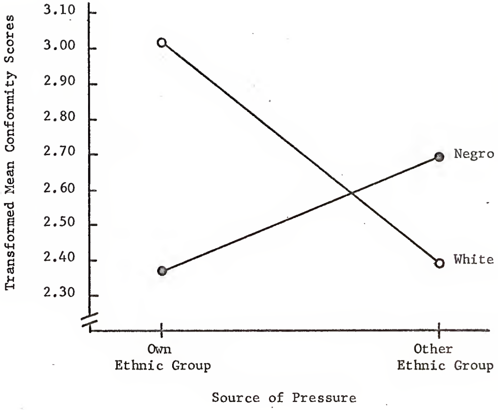

Figure 1. Transformed Mean Conformity Scores Showing the Ethnic X Source of Pressure Interaction in the Unanimous Majority Condition

the effect of the size of the majority on the conforming of subjects to their own ethnic group. The independent variables included Ethnic group, Sex, and Majority size. The adjusted means are shown in Table 4. Table 5 reveals that both Ethnic group and Majority size proved significant sources of variance. White subjects conformed more to members of their own ethnic group than did Negro subjects; and there was less conformity when subjects were joined by another group member in disagreeing with the incorrect choice of the majority than when they were opposed by a unanimous majority.

Hypothesis 3. Negro males, Negro females, and white males will display similar amounts of conformity to a unanimous majority of peers of their own ethnic groups and less conformity than white females.

The results of the preceding two analyses of covariance do not substantiate Hypothesis 3. In neither analysis does Sex act as a significant source of variance, not as a main effect nor as part of an interaction. However, Table 2 reveals that white females did display the greatest amount of conformity to unanimous majority pressures from members of their own ethnic group. Scheffe's test for multiple comparisons was employed to test the differences between Negro males, Negro females, white males, and white females.[1] Also, the difference between white females and the other three groups combined was tested. The results of the Scheffe test indicate that no differences were significant at the .05 level; however, two achieved marginal significance at the .10 level--the difference between white females and Negro males

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[1] The application of post hoc analyses following a nonsignificant F test is subject to controversy; however, in the present case, it can be argued that the use of the Scheffe test is justified because differences had been predicted.

Table 4. Adjusted[a] Mean Scores of Conformity to Own Ethnic Group[b]

		Unanimous Majority	Nonunanimous Majority
Negro	Male	2.26	1.23
	Female	2.56	1.11
White	Male	2.54	1.51
	Female	3.16	1.57

[a] Means are adjusted for the covariate, IQ.

[b] Raw scores are transformed, $x' = \sqrt{x + .5}$, with the amount of conformity varying directly with the size of the mean score.

Table 5. Summary of Analysis of Covariance of Conformity to Own Ethnic Group[a]

Source	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic group (E)	1	2.66	4.21	$< .05$
Sex (S)	1	1.05	1.66	N.S.
Majority size (M)	1	38.94	61.65	$< .001$
E X S	1	0.39	0.62	N.S.
E X M	1	0.03	0.05	N.S.
S X M	1	1.45	2.29	N.S.
E X S X M	1	0.03	0.05	N.S.
Error: Within treatments	87	0.63		
Total	94			

[a] Raw scores are transformed, $x' = \sqrt{x + .5}$.

(_t_=2.74; _df_=3,87) and between white females and the three other groups combined (_t_=2.72; _df_=3,87).

Thus, Hypothesis 3 receives some marginal support. Negro males showed a tendency to conform less than white females, and the mean conformity score for Negro males, Negro females, and white males tended to be less than the mean for white females.

Hypothesis 4. Both Negro and white children will conform less to a nonunanimous majority than to a unanimous majority of peers.

Table 5 shows that Hypothesis 4 is supported by the significant main effect of Majority size.

Conforming behavior in the nonunanimous majority condition was evaluated by means of a 2 X 2 X 2 analysis of covariance, the factors being Ethnic group, Sex, and Source of Support. Table 6 presents the adjusted mean conformity scores, and the results of the analysis (see Appendix B-3) indicate none of the sources of variance was significant, although Source of Support attained marginal significance. There was a trend for subjects to conform more to a majority of two members of their own ethnic group when they received judgmental support from a member of the other ethnic group than when they received support from a member of their own ethnic group.

Hypothesis 5. Both Negro and white children will accept judgmental support from a member of the other ethnic group just as readily as from a member of their own ethnic group.

The results in Appendix B-3 support Hypothesis 5--the effect of Source of Support failed to attain significance at the .05 level. However, Source of Support did reach a marginal level of significance. It is important to point out that a post-experimental inquiry indicated

Table 6. Adjusted[a] Mean Conformity Scores in the Nonunanimous Majority Condition[b]

		Own Support	Other Support
Negro	Male	1.32	1.60
	Female	1.24	1.71
White	Male	1.34	1.19
	Female	1.47	1.92

[a] Means are adjusted for the covariate, IQ.

[b] Raw scores are transformed, $x' = \sqrt{x + .5}$, with the amount of conformity varying directly with the size of the mean score.

that at least one-fourth of the subjects in the other support condition were unaware that the person who disagreed with the choices of the majority was the member of the other ethnic group. It is possible that had the experimental manipulation of the identity of the supporting person been completely successful, the other support condition would have produced significantly more conformity behavior than the own support condition.

Social Distance

Social distance scores were subjected to square root transformations in order to reduce heterogeneity of within-cell variance, and two 2 X 2 (Ethnic X Sex) analyses of variance were carried out, one for subjects conforming in the other pressure condition and one for subjects conforming in the other support condition. Table 7 shows the mean social distance scores for subjects in both conditions. The analyses of variance, summarized in Table 8, indicate that the Ethnic factor was the only significant source of variance. Whites displayed much greater feelings of social distance toward Negroes than did the Negroes toward whites. In fact, exactly half (24 of 48) of the white children, in answer to the most extreme social distance item, preferred Negroes not to live in their country. On the other hand, only 1 of 48 Negro children wished to exclude whites from his country.

Correlations were computed between social distance scores and conformity scores in two experimental conditions (see Appendix B-4). In the other pressure condition, the subjects were confronted with a unanimous majority of peers of the other ethnic group. In this condition, only 1 of 6 correlations was significant. For Negro males a

Table 7. Mean Social Distance Scores[a]

		Other Pressure	Other Support
Negro	Male	2.10	2.50
	Female	2.28	2.04
White	Male	0.91	1.28
	Female	1.19	1.20

[a] Raw scores are transformed, $x' = \sqrt{x + .5}$, with the amount of social distance varying inversely with the size of the mean score.

Table 8. Summary of Analyses of Variance of Social Distance Scores[a]

		Other Pressure			Other Support		
Source	df	MS	F	P	MS	F	P
Ethnic group (E)	1	15.49	57.60	$<.001$	12.84	55.26	$<.001$
Sex (S)	1	0.63	2.35	N.S.	0.88	3.78	$<.10$
E X S	1	0.04	0.14	N.S.	0.44	1.90	N.S.
Error: Within treatments	44	0.27			0.23		
Total	47						

[a] Raw scores are transformed, $x'=\sqrt{x + .5}$.

significant negative relationship was found between conformity and social distance. Recalling that high social distance scores signify favorable attitudes, it appears that the Negro males who had favorable attitudes towards whites were less susceptible to influence pressures stemming from them. Three of the remaining 5 correlations also were in the negative direction, although none was significant.

In addition, correlations between conformity and social distance were computed in the other support condition in which a subject received judgmental support from a member of the other ethnic group, while he was being opposed by two members of his own ethnic group. Appendix B-4 shows that in this condition 5 of 6 correlations, although nonsignificant, were negative. A negative correlation means that in contrast to subjects with favorable attitudes toward the other ethnic group, subjects with unfavorable attitudes tended to conform more to the majority of two peers of their own ethnic group and were less influenced by the correct choice of the dissenting member of the other ethnic group.

Hypothesis 6. For both Negro and white children there will be a positive relationship between the favorableness of their attitudes toward the other ethnic group and their conformity to a unanimous majority of peers representing the other ethnic group.

Hypothesis 7. For both Negro and white children, there will be a positive relationship between the favorableness of their attitudes toward the other ethnic group and their acceptance of judgmental support from a peer representing the other ethnic group.

Only 1 of 12 correlations in Appendix B-4 is significant which means that the results of this study do not support the relationships predicted by Hypotheses 6 and 7. Caution should prevail in attributing the one significant correlation to a cause other than chance occurrence. However, in spite of the lack of significance, the consistent direction of the associations is noteworthy.

Four of 6 of the correlations relevant to Hypothesis 6, including the only significant one, are negative. Therefore, if the results are to be considered at all suggestive, they suggest the reverse of Hypothesis 6, that conformity to the other ethnic group was inversely related to the positiveness of the subjects' attitudes toward the other group.

On the other hand, the direction of 5 of 6 correlations in the other support condition is consistent with Hypothesis 7. Hypothesis 7 predicts a negative relationship between social distance scores and conforming behavior. That is, the more favorably predisposed a subject is toward the other ethnic group, the more readily he will accept the judgmental support of a representative of that group, and, consequently, the less he will agree with the erroneous judgments made by two peers of his own ethnic group. The failure to successfully manipulate the identification of the member of the other ethnic group as a source of support may have had important consequences for Hypothesis 7. Had the identity of the supporter been salient for all subjects, perhaps the negative correlations would have been strengthened.

Self-Blame

Self-blame scores were subjected to an analysis of variance in order to determine whether significant differences in conformity which were found in the preceding analyses could be attributed to differences among conditions in self-blame. A 2 X 2 X 2 (Ethnic X Sex X Source of Pressure) analysis of variance was completed using self-blame scores as the dependent variable. Table 9 shows the mean self-blame scores. The summary of the analysis (see Appendix B-5) indicates that Source of Pressure was the only significant factor. Apparently subjects who were subjected to unanimous majority pressure from the other ethnic group were less inclined to have self-blaming tendencies than subjects who performed with members of their own ethnic group. It is unlikely that the experimental treatments in the own and other pressure conditions could have produced differences in self-blaming tendencies. Therefore, since equal numbers of males and females of both ethnic groups were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions, the most plausible explanation is that the difference was due to chance. In the absence of other significant differences, the analysis of self-blame scores suggests that the differences in conformity behavior found in the preceding analyses are not due to differences in self-blame.

To investigate the relationship between self-blame and conformity to a unanimous majority of subjects, correlations were computed (see Appendix B-6). None of the correlations is significant. However, inspection reveals that the majority (9 of 12) tend in a positive direction.

Hypothesis 8. A positive relationship will be found between self-blame and conformity.

Although the majority of correlations are positive as predicted, their nonsignificance leads to a rejection of Hypothesis 8.

Table 9. Mean Self-Blame Scores in the Unanimous Majority Condition[a]

		Own Pressure	Other Pressure
Negro	Male	38.58	32.75
	Female	38.41	35.83
White	Male	37.08	36.50
	Female	40.42	35.42

[a] The amount of self-blame varies directly with the size of the mean score.

Anxiety

To test for possible differences in the effect upon anxiety level of performing in the presence of a subject's own ethnic group or in the presence of the other ethnic group, a 2 X 2 X 2 (Ethnic X Sex X Source of Pressure) analysis of variance was carried out on the subjects' personal reports of anxiety. Again a square root transformation was employed in order to make more homogeneous the within-cell variances. The mean anxiety scores (see Appendix B-7) and the analysis of variance (see Appendix B-8) indicate that no significant differences in anxiety were created by the experimental manipulations.

Hypothesis 9. The children, especially the Negroes, will report more anxiety after experiencing opposition from a majority of peers representing the other ethnic group than from a majority of peers of their own ethnic group.

The absence of significant effects in Appendix B-8 provides evidence for the rejection of Hypothesis 9.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The major objective of the study was a comparison of the conforming behavior of Negro and white children when the source of social influence originated from within their own ethnic group and when it came from the other ethnic group. The Ethnic X Source of Pressure interaction shown in Figure 1 demonstrates the different reactions of the two ethnic groups. For white children, the ethnicity of the source of pressure was a significant determinant of their conforming behavior. They conformed less to a unanimous majority of Negro peers than to a unanimous majority of white peers. However, unlike the whites, the Negro children did not conform significantly more to one ethnic group than to the other, although there was a tendency for them to be more influenced by whites than by their own ethnic group.

Two experimental hypotheses were not supported by the above findings. One (Hypothesis 1) was a direct generalization from the results of earlier studies of social influence which, unlike this study, found that white subjects were likely to be influenced equally by whites and Negroes. The second (Hypothesis 2) was that Negroes would yield more readily to conformity pressures from whites than from Negroes. That hypothesis also was based on the results of a number of studies.

The important distinctions between the present study and other investigations, which were acknowledged in the introduction to this paper, must be invoked to account for the unexpected findings that the conforming behavior of the whites was significantly affected by the ethnicity of the source of influence. Probably the most critical difference lies in the nature of the populations studied. Whereas the present study employed school children as subjects, the others sampled college populations. It is probable that the children were less influenced than college subjects by norms as liberal as those which generally characterize the college community. Also, it is likely that the children were less sensitive than college subjects to the so-called demand characteristics of the experimental procedure. Such factors, plus the fact that the children had experienced some prior acquaintance with each other, could easily have created circumstances facilitative of internally determined behavior. Thus, the children conformed or failed to conform because that was what they felt like doing, whereas, in the other studies, the college students acted as they did because that was the way they thought they were expected to behave. Consequently, the extreme social distance scores of the white children, indicating rejection of Negroes, were directly reflected in their inclination to reject the erroneous, yet unanimous, choices of their Negro peers.

Why was it that the Negro children were not influenced more by their white peers than by their Negro peers? At least two plausible explanations can be offered. It is possible that the school integration experience and the recent pride enhancing civil rights progress have provided the Negro children with opportunities to develop self-confidence in their biracial interrelationships. Such self-confidence would augment their ability to resist social pressures from their white counterparts. Also, it may be that the nature of the Crutchfield conformity apparatus, by not permitting face-to-face contact, detracts from the social threat inherent in biracial interactions.

The experimenter's personal observations of the children's playground activities and reports from the faculty and administration indicated a high degree of interracial antagonism within the school. Hostility was also evident in the white children's anti-Negro responses on the social distance scale. However, it was not as evident in the Negroes' responses. How can one account for the more favorable ethnic attitudes of the Negro children? One answer might be an "experimenter effect" interpretation which would argue that had the examiner been black, the Negroes would have chosen greater social distances from whites. While the skin color of the experimenter may have had some effect, it seems unlikely that it alone could have produced the magnitude of the discrepancy between the social distance scores of the Negroes and the whites. Consistent with this conclusion is the finding that the conformity of the Negro subjects was not significantly affected by the ethnicity of the source of pressure.

The results of the study support those of Iscoe, Williams, and Harvey (1964) who found that Negro school children conformed less than white school children to unanimous majorities of peers representing their own ethnic group. Unlike the earlier study, in the present one the differences between ethnic groups was not attributable solely to the behavior of the white females, although the white females did account for most of the difference. The prediction (Hypothesis 3) that white females would conform the most was given only marginal support. There was a trend for them to conform more than Negro males and more than the mean of the combined scores of Negro males, Negro females, and white males.

The finding that Negroes conform less to Negro peers than do whites to white peers demands an interpretation. Tentatively, it is proposed that the personality of the Negro child is characterized by a feeling of alienation. The alienation becomes manifest in the belief in the fruitlessness, the nonrewardingness, of normative behavior. The Negro child's disrespect for social norms mitigates against his susceptibility to being influenced by his peers.

In support of a well-established finding, the results confirmed the expectation (Hypothesis 4) that both ethnic groups would conform less to nonunanimous majorities of their own ethnic group than to unanimous majorities of their own ethnic group.

The findings support the prediction (Hypothesis 5) that the subjects would accept judgmental support from a member of the other ethnic group just as readily as from a member of their own ethnic group--the difference between the own support condition and the other support condition reached only a marginal level of significance. This finding approximates the results of Malof and Lott (1962). They found that, while white college subjects scoring low in prejudice were not influenced by the ethnicity of the source of support, there was a clear, but nonsignificant, trend for highly prejudiced whites to accept support more readily from a white than from a Negro group member. It is possible that in the present study, had all of the subjects who were in the other support condition been aware of the ethnicity of the subject who supported them, that there would have been a significantly greater amount of conformity in the other support condition than in the own support condition. Let us speculate about the underlying dynamics had Source of Support achieved significance. Such a phenomenon might represent a manifestation of ethnic group solidatiry. When a subject received support from a member of the other ethnic group, he was faced with a conflict between ingroup loyalty and his perception of the incorrect choices of the members of his ethnic group. When normative pressures prevailed, he rejected the support of the outgroup member. The intergroup antagonism existing at this particular school might foster a need to support one's own group in opposition to the other group.

Before discussing the findings regarding the relationship between conformity and both self-blame and social distance, a few observations should be made about the retest reliability of the instruments. The reliability coefficient for the self-blame scale was +.65 (scores for Negroes and whites were combined) and for Negro subjects on the social distance scale was +.61, both of which probably can be considered adequate for research purposes. The nonsignificant correlation of +.36 for white subjects on the social distance scale certainly is insufficient. Upon scoring the self-blame scale for the first time, the experimenter noticed that a number of subjects who had been seated at the same four-person tables, gave highly similar patterns of responses, suggesting the possibility that some subjects had copied from each other. During the second testing session, subjects were seated at separate tables to prevent copying. If copying occurred, one consequence might have been a reduction in the reliability of the self-blame instrument --this assumes that those subjects who copied either did not try to recall or were unable to recall the choices which they had imitated.

The same considerations apply to the social distance scale, but similar patterns of responses proved less frequent or were more difficult to detect. One likely consequence of copying would be a reduction in the probability of finding significant relationships that might have existed. Also, it is probable that the low retest correlation coefficient for whites on the social distance measure also was due in part to the restricted range of responses made--most subjects rejected Negroes at all degrees of social distance.

Within the limitations imposed by the measuring instruments, both hypotheses relating social distance scores to conformity were rejected because of the predominance of nonsignificant correlations. These results are in accord with those of the many studies which fail to demonstrate congruence between overt behavior and ethnic attitudes. Recall, however, that the white subjects' extremely negative feelings towards Negroes were reflected in their tendencies to reject Negroes as sources of influence. Such a finding might be used as a laboratory demonstration of a direct association between attitude and action.

A positive relationship between social distance and conformity was predicted (Hypothesis 6) for those subjected to pressures from a unanimous majority of the other ethnic group. Contrary to the hypothesis, the majority of correlations were negative, although only one was significant. It would be unwarranted to propose that the results support the opposite of the hypothesis. Yet, consider for a moment the dynamics that might have been operating had the following occurred: subjects who preferred close contact with the other group were less susceptible to their influence, whereas subjects having unfavorable feelings toward the other group submitted to their influence. It may be recalled that a similar result was found in a study by Katz and Benjamin (1960) in which authoritarian whites were more influenced by

Negro partners than by white partners in group problem-solving tasks. A need to maintain social distance may reflect not only dislike but also fear of the target of social distance. A person who prefers social distance may feel anxious when performing in the presence of those from whom he wishes to remain separated. It was already pointed out that situational anxiety is conducive to conforming behavior. On the other hand, persons who score high on the social distance scale, desire contact with the other group and are likely to feel comfortable in their interactions with its members. Thus, they are less intimidated by the social influence situation and feel free to act as they desire. However, the tenability of this interpretation is opposed by the present finding that subjects reported no greater anxiety when opposed by unanimous majorities of the other ethnic group than when opposed by members of their own ethnic group.

Regarding behavior in the other support condition, a negative relationship was predicted (Hypothesis 7) between social distance and conformity. Although the hypothesis was rejected, 5 of 6 correlations were in the expected direction. Recall, again, that Malof and Lott (1962) found a nonsignificant trend for highly prejudiced subjects, but not for less prejudiced subjects, to accept the support of a white more than the support of a Negro. It is possible that the questionable reliability of the social distance measure and the only partially effective experimental manipulation in the other support condition acted to diminish the magnitude of the correlations between conformity and social distance. Yet, in spite of the above considerations, it must be concluded that the results of this study support the common laboratory finding of no reliable relationship between attitudes, as measured by attitude scales, and overt behavior.

Similar to the correlations between social distance and conformity, the series of correlations between self-blame and conformity was characterized by nonsignificance. Thus, the predicted (Hypothesis 8) positive relationship between self-blame and conformity was not supported. However, since the majority of correlations were positive, and because of the problems regarding reliability, one must be wary about interpreting the findings as seriously questioning the strong relationship between self-blame and conformity which was found by Costanzo (1967). Then, again, the results may represent an instance in which situational determinants of conformity behavior did override personality factors.

It was expected (Hypothesis 9) that confronting opposition from a unanimous majority of the other ethnic group would be more anxiety provoking, especially for Negroes, than facing opposition from one's own ethnic group. The results indicated no significant differences in anxiety and, therefore, failed to support the hypothesis. A number of explanations for the failure can be offered. It is possible that differences in anxiety actually existed, yet the paper and pencil technique for detecting them was insensitive to them. Or perhaps the ethnic composition of the group had little or no effect on the anxiety level because (1) as a result of the integration experience, the children were accustomed to behaving in the presence of members of the other ethnic group, and/or (2) because the isolation created by the experimental booths did not provide a truly social situation facilitative of the evocation of social threat. Perhaps it was the non-threatening (non-anxiety provoking) nature of the situation which enabled the Negro subjects to assert themselves by resisting the influence of their white peers.

This study focussed on two classes of determinants of conforming behavior, the characteristics of the source of influence and the characteristics of the individual. The nature of the source of influence had a strong effect upon conformity--both the size of the majority and the ethnic composition of the source of influence acted as significant sources of variance. On the other hand, individual characteristics such as sex and tendency toward self-blame did not significantly affect conformity, although the ethnicity of the subject was a significant factor. These findings support those writers (e.g., Hollander & Willis, 1967; Steiner & Vannoy, 1966) who argue against the view that there are consistent relationships between personality variables and conforming behavior.

The results of the present study have some important implications for intergroup relations in the United States. It is encouraging to note that the Negro children did not buckle under to the influence of their white peers. This resistance of the Negroes conflicts with earlier laboratory studies which demonstrated that Negro college students tend to submit to influence pressures from whites; however, it confirms Pettigrew's (1961) hope that Negroes are overcoming their self-deprecatory feelings and learning to assert themselves as social and intellectual equals. If a change is occurring, it is more likely to manifest itself first in the personalities of Negro children than in the less malleable personalities of older Negroes. It will be interesting to observe, in the years ahead, if experimental studies support this one in revealing a diminishing tendency for Negroes to experience a sense of inadequacy while interacting with whites.

Contrary to the picture presented by the Negro children, an ominous outlook was reflected in the behavior of the white children. The so-called white racism of America was evident in the white children's hostile attitudes toward Negroes and in their disrespect for their Negro peers as sources of influence.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The major intention of the study was an analysis of Negro-white differences in conformity. The subjects were seventh and eighth graders from an integrated junior high school. A modified version of the Crutchfield apparatus was used to measure conforming behavior. The criterion measure was the frequency with which individual subjects conformed to the erroneous visual judgments of a simulated peer majority. The major independent variables were ethnic group (Negro or white), sex, majority size (unanimous or nonunanimous), and source of support (own or other ethnic group) in a nonunanimous majority condition. Other measuring instruments used were an anxiety scale, a self-blame scale, and a social distance scale.

Two hypotheses were derived from experimental evidence on biracial interactions which demonstrates that white college students are not differentially affected by Negro and white sources of influence; whereas, it demonstrates that Negro college subjects react submissively when dealing with whites. The hypothesis that the conforming behavior of the white children would not be differentially influenced by the ethnic composition of the source of pressure was not confirmed. The whites conformed significantly less to Negro peers than to white peers. This unexpected finding was attributed to distinctions between the present study and earlier ones, especially the ramifications related to the fact that in this study the subjects were children, whereas, in the others they were college students.

Also, it was hypothesized that Negroes would conform more to whites than to Negroes. Again, the hypothesis was not supported. The ethnicity of the source of influence did not produce significant differences in the conforming behavior of the Negroes. It was suggested that the Negroes' resistance to the influence of the whites may reflect the emergence of a new sense of self-confidence in the Negro American.

A third prediction was that white females would conform more than would Negro males, Negro females, and white males to members of their own ethnic group. The hypothesis, in modified form, was supported. Whites, males and females combined, conformed more to whites than did Negroes conform to Negroes. The Negroes' resistance to conform was interpreted as a consequence of a feeling of alienation manifested in a disrespect for normative behavior.

As predicted, subjects conformed less to nonunanimous majorities of their own ethnic group than to unanimous majorities of their own ethnic group.

In a source of support condition, a subject was supported in his opposition to a nonunanimous majority of two members of his own ethnic group either by another member of his ethnic group or by a member of the other ethnic group. As hypothesized, the ethnicity of the source of support did not differentially affect conforming behavior. However, a marginal level of significance was attained due to the occurrence of more conformity when the source of support was of the other ethnic group. Consideration was given to the possibility that the difference might have been significant had an experimental manipulation been more adequate.

Social distance scores were hypothesized to be positively related to conformity for children subjected to pressures from a unanimous majority of the other ethnic group and negatively related to conformity for subjects receiving judgmental support from a member of the other ethnic group. To test the hypotheses, correlations were used, the preponderance of which was nonsignificant.

Correlations also were computed to evaluate a hypothesized positive relationship between tendency toward self-blame and conformity. The series of correlations was characterized by nonsignificance, although the majority were in the positive direction.

The validity of the findings regarding the relationship between conformity and both self-blame and social distance was questioned. Possible sources of invalidity included the dubious reliability of both the self-blame scale and the social distance scale and/or weaknesses inherent in the experimental procedure.

It was expected that subjects would report more anxiety after confronting a majority of the other ethnic group than after facing a majority of their own ethnic group. No differences in anxiety were found.

The findings of the study were interpreted as providing evidence for the beneficial social psychological consequences accompanying the civil rights movement. A positive outlook was presented by the Negro children. They were not overly influenced by their white peers, and they reserved a place for whites in their social relationships. The antithesis of the Negroes' behavior was that of the white children who rejected their Negro peers both as sources of judgmental influence and as objects of social interaction.

APPENDIX A

SCALES

APPENDIX A-1

Anxiety Scale

Remember how you felt when you and the other children were judging the sizes of the figures? Sometimes people feel nervous when doing that. How nervous did you feel?

Circle the number below that best describes how you felt.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Not at all nervous		A little nervous		Quite nervous		Very nervous

APPENDIX A-2

Self-Blame Scale

INSTRUCTIONS: PLEASE LISTEN CAREFULLY

On this test there are 18 stories. I am going to read them to you. I want you to make believe that you are in the stories. In some of the stories a good thing happens, and in other stories a bad thing happens. What I want you to do is to listen to each story carefully. After I read each story two times, go to your answer sheet and mark down the amount of blame you should get if a bad thing happened, or how much praise you should get if a good thing happened. You will answer one story at a time.

Look at your answer sheet. Your answer sheet is numbered from 1-18, and the numbers refer to the story numbers. Beneath each number you will see 5 boxes that become smaller as they go from top to bottom. The different sized boxes mean different amounts of praise or blame you will give yourself for each story. The bigger the box, the bigger is the praise or blame. (For each story the boxes appeared as the following:)

☐ - A VERY LOT
☐ - A LOT
☐ - SOME BUT NOT A LOT
☐ - A LITTLE
☐ - NONE AT ALL

Therefore, I will read each story twice, and then you look at the answer sheet. Just put a check in the box that shows how much blame or praise you think you deserve in the story. The bigger the box you put the check in, the more blame or praise you think you should get.

If you are a boy, then your friend in each story is a boy. If you are a girl, then your friend also is a girl.

1. You and your friend are walking home from school. Neither of you is paying attention to where you are going. Finally, you knock into your friend and his (her) books fall into a puddle of water and are ruined. How much are you to blame?

2. You and your friend are angry with one another and begin to argue. The argument goes on for a long time and finally your friend's feelings are hurt by something you say. How much are you to blame?

3. Your friend is doing poorly in his (her) schoolwork. One night you decide to study with your friend and try to help him (her). The next day your friend gets a good grade on a class quiz. How much praise do you deserve?

4. You and your friend are at your house having a good time. However, you are having such a good time that you both forget what time it is. When your friend gets home, your friend's parents are angry with him (her) for being late for dinner. How much are you to blame?

5. One day your friend loses a valuable object in the bushes. Both you and your friend look for it for a long time, and finally you find it and give it to him (her). How much praise do you deserve?

6. You and your friend are eating lunch in the cafeteria, and you are both joking around with one another when your knee hits the bottom of the table, and your friend's plate full of food falls into his (her) lap. How much are you to blame?

7. You tell your friend that it is easy to sneak into the movies without paying. When your friend tries, he (she) is caught. How much are you to blame?

8. You and your friend are crossing the street one day, when you see a car coming. When your friend keeps on walking, you pull him (her) back, and the car misses him (her). How much praise do you deserve?

9. You and your friend plan together to copy from one another during a class quiz. Early in the quiz your friend is caught copying from you by the teacher. How much are you to blame?

10. One day you whisper something to your friend during a class. The teacher gets angry with your friend and tells him (her) to stop talking. You tell the teacher that it wasn't your friend talking but you. How much praise do you deserve?

11. You and your friend are swimming in a pool. Both of you begin to splash water at one another at the deep end. All of a sudden, you splash your friend, your friend loses his (her) balance and goes under and almost drowns. How much are you to blame?

12. One day you and your friend are in a store together. Your friend decides that he (she) is going to take something without paying

for it. If your friend did, he (she) would have gotten caught. You talk your friend out of taking the object. How much praise do you deserve?

13. You and your friend go roller skating at the local roller skating rink. You are both skating fast and fooling around bumping into one another. One time you knock into your friend, and your friend falls down and breaks his (her) leg. How much are you to blame?

14. You and your friend are riding your bicycles together, and you decide that it might be fun to have a race. In the middle of the race your friend's wheel hits a stone, the bike topples over, and he (she) gets many cuts and scratches. How much are you to blame?

15. You and your friend are walking to another friend's house. Both of you decide that rather than take the long way, you should find a short cut. You suggest a short cut through the woods and ask your friend to follow you. Both of you get lost and have a hard time finding your way out of the woods. How much are you to blame?

16. One day you and your friend are mad at each other. All you keep on doing is arguing about silly things. Finally, you decide that it would be best to end the argument, and so you apologize to your friend, and as a result, the argument stops. How much praise do you deserve?

17. Neither you nor your friend are paying attention when your teacher puts a homework assignment on the board. You say that the teacher didn't assign any homework, and your friend says she did. You argue about it, and you win the argument, and neither of you do any homework. The next day, you both are not ready for class and fail the quiz. How much are you to blame?

18. One day in class you are acting like a clown, talking out loud and joking. Your friend thinks you are funny and begins to laugh. The teacher catches your friend and angrily tells him (her) to leave the room. How much are you to blame?

APPENDIX A-3

Social Distance Scale

INSTRUCTIONS: PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

Written below are the names of a number of different groups of people, for example, Germans and Russians. Under the name of each group of people is a list of things that someone might say about a person in that group.

Read all the sentences that are listed under each group. If you agree with what a sentence says about the people in the group, write a "yes" on the line at the end of the sentence. But if you do not think that way about the group, write a "no." Please be as honest as you can.

Make sure that you write a "no" or a "yes" for all the sentences about all the groups. Remember, if you agree with what a sentence says about a group, write "yes" at the end of it, but if you do not feel that way, write "no."

GERMANS	Yes or No
I would like to have a German live in my house.	________
I would like to have a German as a close friend.	________
I would like to go on a trip with a German.	________
I would like to have a German on my sports team.	________
I would like to have a German in my class in school.	________
I would like to have a German live on my street.	________
I would like to have a German live in my country.	________

RUSSIANS	Yes or No
I would like to have a Russian live in my home.	________
I would like to have a Russian as a close friend.	________
I would like to go on a trip with a Russian.	________

RUSSIANS - cont'd	Yes or No
I would like to have a Russian on my sports team.	
I would like to have a Russian in my class in school.	
I would like to have a Russian live on my street.	
I would like to have a Russian live in my country.	

WHITE AMERICANS	Yes or No
I would like to have a white American live in my home.	
I would like to have a white American as a close friend.	
I would like to go on a trip with a white American.	
I would like to have a white American on my sports team.	
I would like to have a white American in my class in school.	
I would like to have a white American live on my street.	
I would like to have a white American live in my country.	

CHINESE	Yes or No
I would like to have a Chinese person live in my home.	
I would like to have a Chinese person as a close friend.	
I would like to go on a trip with a Chinese person.	
I would like to have a Chinese person on my sports team.	
I would like to have a Chinese person in my class in school.	
I would like to have a Chinese person live on my street.	
I would like to have a Chinese person live in my country.	

NEGRO AMERICANS	Yes or No
I would like to have a Negro American live in my home.	
I would like to have a Negro American as a close friend.	
I would like to go on a trip with a Negro American.	
I would like to have a Negro American on my sports team.	

NEGRO AMERICANS - cont'd Yes or No

I would like to have a Negro American in my class in school. __________

I would like to have a Negro American live on my street. __________

I would like to have a Negro American live in my country. __________

FRENCHMEN Yes or No

I would like to have a Frenchman live in my home. __________

I would like to have a Frenchman as a close friend. __________

I would like to go on a trip with a Frenchman. __________

I would like to have a Frenchman on my sports team. __________

I would like to have a Frenchman in my class in school. __________

I would like to have a Frenchman live on my street. __________

I would like to have a Frenchman live in my country. __________

ITALIANS Yes or No

I would like to have an Italian live in my home. __________

I would like to have an Italian as a close friend. __________

I would like to go on a trip with an Italian. __________

I would like to have an Italian on my sports team. __________

I would like to have an Italian in my class in school. __________

I would like to have an Italian live on my street. __________

I would like to have an Italian live in my country. __________

APPENDIX A-4

Pre-Experimental Questionnaire of Foreknowledge of the Experiment

Underline the sentence that best describes how much you already know about this experiment.

1. I do not know anything about it.
2. I have heard a little about it but really don't know what to expect.
3. I have heard some about it and think I know what it is all about.
4. I know what it is all about.

APPENDIX B

SUPPLEMENTARY ANALYSES

APPENDIX B-1

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Age Across Conditions[a]

Source	df	MS	F	P
Between conditions	15	38.01	0.77	N.S.
Error: Within treatments	176	49.34		
Total	191			

[a] The raw scores used in the analysis consisted of the last digit of the year in which the subjects were born plus that portion of a year (in tenths) represented by the month of their birth. For instance, a score of 51 was assigned to a subject born in January, 1955.

APPENDIX B-2

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Pre-experimental Error Across Conditions[a]

Source	df	MS	F	P
Between conditions	15	0.12	1.47	N.S.
Error: Within treatments	176	0.08		
Total	191			

[a] Raw scores are transformed, $x' = \sqrt{x + .5}$.

APPENDIX B-3

Summary of Analysis of Covariance of Conformity Scores in the Nonunanimous Majority Condition[a]

Source	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic group (E)	1	0.00	0.00	N.S.
Sex (S)	1	1.15	2.43	N.S.
Source of Support (SS)	1	1.58	3.34	$<.10$
E X S	1	1.07	2.26	N.S.
E X SS	1	0.32	0.69	N.S.
S X SS	1	0.94	1.98	N.S.
E X S X SS	1	0.25	0.52	N.S.
Error: Within treatments	87	0.47		
Total	94			

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[a] Raw scores are transformed, $x'=\sqrt{x + .5}$.

APPENDIX B-4

Correlations between Conformity and Social Distance

		Other Pressure	Other Support
Negro	Males (N=12)	-.64*	+.12
	Females (N=12)	-.13	-.38
	Sexes combined (N=24)	-.40	-.22
White	Males (N=12)	-.37	-.41
	Females (N=12)	+.17	-.36
	Sexes combined (N=24)	+.06	-.31

*Significant at .05 level

APPENDIX B-5

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Self-Blame Scores in the Unanimous Majority Condition

Source	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic group (E)	1	22.04	0.42	N.S.
Sex (S)	1	40.04	0.77	N.S.
Source of Pressure (SP)	1	294.00	5.63	$<.05$
E X S	1	0.67	0.01	N.S.
E X SP	1	12.04	0.23	N.S.
S X SP	1	2.04	0.04	N.S.
E X S X SP	1	88.21	1.19	N.S.
Error: Within treatments	88	52.22		
Total	95			

APPENDIX B-6

Correlations between Conformity and Self-Blame[a]

		Own Pressure	Other Pressure
Negro	Males (N=12)	+.07	+.26
	Females (N=12)	+.20	+.21
	Sexes combined (N=24)	+.13	+.23
White	Males (N=12)	-.18	+.42
	Females (N=12)	-.53	+.22
	Sexes combined (N=24)	-.27	+.31

[a] None is significant.

APPENDIX B-7

Mean Situational Anxiety Scores[a]

		Own Pressure	Other Pressure
Negro	Male	1.58	1.30
	Female	1.31	1.29
White	Male	1.50	1.26
	Female	1.64	1.49

[a] Raw scores are transformed, $x' = \sqrt{x + .5}$, with the amount of anxiety varying directly with the mean score.

APPENDIX B-8

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Situational Anxiety Scores[a]

Source	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic group (E)	1	0.26	0.96	N.S.
Sex (S)	1	0.01	0.05	N.S.
Source of Pressure (SP)	1	0.70	2.62	N.S.
E X S	1	0.64	2.40	N.S.
E X SP	1	0.01	0.05	N.S.
S X SP	1	0.18	0.67	N.S.
E X S X SP	1	0.05	0.19	N.S.
Error: Within treatments	88	0.27		
Total	95			

[a] Raw scores are transformed, $x' = \sqrt{x + .5}$.

APPENDIX C

RAW DATA BY EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION

APPENDIX C

Raw Data by Experimental Condition

Negro, Male, Unanimous Majority, Own Pressure

Subject	Conformity	Errors in Practice	Anxiety	Self-Blame	Social Distance	Birth Date[a]	IQ	Socioeconomic Status[b]
1	2	0	2	30	4	55	7	68
2	8	1	4	44	4	62	3	--
3	14	0	2	44	3	54	3	46
4	1	0	6	42	6	51	3	46
5	2	0	4	41	4	44	8	46
6	6	0	2	48	3	47	6	78
7	13	0	0	23	5	43	5	--
8	2	0	2	40	5	57	5	49
9	1	0	0	35	5	53	4	81
10	15	0	2	43	6	49	3	58
11	4	0	4	42	7	52	2	46
12	2	0	0	31	5	45	6	68

Negro, Female, Unanimous Majority, Own Pressure

Subject	Conformity	Errors in Practice	Anxiety	Self-Blame	Social Distance	Birth Date[a]	IQ	Socioeconomic Status[b]
1	6	0	1	34	7	53	3	46
2	3	0	0	24	7	56	3	63
3	5	0	2	40	0	57	3	46
4	1	0	4	38	5	58	6	81
5	15	0	2	39	6	47	4	--
6	15	0	2	35	7	46	3	--
7	8	0	0	44	7	43	3	81
8	7	1	2	47	5	46	5	46
9	9	2	2	35	6	59	4	46
10	7	1	2	52	4	51	3	78
11	1	1	0	33	4	55	3	46
12	15	2	0	40	2	61	3	46

White, Male, Unanimous Majority, Own Pressure

Subject	Conformity	Errors in Practice	Anxiety	Self-Blame	Social Distance	Birth Date[a]	IQ	Socioeconomic Status[b]
1	10	0	2	41	0	35	3	68
2	15	0	4	37	1	37	6	58
3	3	0	2	40	0	37	2	75
4	5	0	2	37	0	41	6	68
5	7	1	1	44	0	58	6	68
6	14	0	2	29	0	41	6	--
7	11	1	2	37	1	51	7	63
8	1	0	2	36	1	60	8	75
9	4	0	4	37	0	47	6	60
10	1	0	0	39	0	58	7	68
11	5	0	2	34	3	54	7	80
12	1	0	0	34	0	51	7	68

White, Female, Unanimous Majority, Own Pressure

Subject	Conformity	Errors in Practice	Anxiety	Self-Blame	Social Distance	Birth Date[a]	IQ	Socioeconomic Status[b]
1	15	0	0	38	0	57	5	53
2	15	1	2	46	0	56	6	81
3	15	0	2	24	0	52	3	--
4	11	0	6	42	3	50	5	68
5	15	0	4	40	4	57	5	--
6	1	1	0	52	6	51	6	68
7	15	2	2	39	0	59	6	68
8	5	0	2	42	6	46	7	89
9	2	0	6	43	5	47	9	68
10	6	1	2	37	3	43	6	68
11	12	0	2	33	3	42	7	81
12	7	0	2	49	0	51	5	68

Negro, Male, Unanimous Majority, Other Pressure

Subject	Conformity	Errors in Practice	Anxiety	Self-Blame	Social Distance	Birth Date[a]	IQ	Socioeconomic Status[b]
1	1	0	0	37	6	42	6	46
2	14	0	0	30	4	52	5	46
3	1	0	2	22	7	51	3	46
4	4	0	2	27	6	47	3	35
5	11	0	6	46	5	35	1	54
6	14	0	2	33	0	59	4	63
7	4	1	2	34	6	56	5	78
8	14	0	0	36	1	47	4	68
9	9	0	2	31	5	37	4	54
10	13	0	2	43	4	52	4	52
11	11	0	0	30	1	57	4	45
12	13	1	0	24	7	47	2	44

Negro, Female, Unanimous Majority, Other Pressure

1	7	0	0	35	3	47	3	46
2	15	0	2	43	6	55	3	46
3	15	0	2	30	5	57	3	46
4	15	0	2	43	7	50	2	46
5	15	0	0	36	3	49	2	46
6	0	0	2	38	6	59	5	46
7	15	0	2	32	4	52	5	68
8	2	0	2	31	4	47	4	58
9	11	2	2	36	4	60	2	46
10	4	0	2	31	5	58	4	66
11	15	0	0	37	4	52	5	78
12	2	0	0	38	6	45	1	87

White, Male, Unanimous Majority, Other Pressure

Subject	Conformity	Errors in Practice	Anxiety	Self-Blame	Social Distance	Birth Date^a	IQ	Socioeconomic Status^b
1	4	1	0	45	1	58	6	75
2	3	0	2	41	0	37	5	46
3	15	1	2	50	0	37	6	65
4	0	0	0	34	1	42	9	74
5	9	0	2	24	0	56	5	68
6	9	0	2	43	0	21	2	46
7	4	0	1	48	1	55	7	75
8	3	0	0	24	2	43	8	68
9	1	0	0	19	0	48	6	73
10	5	1	2	43	0	46	6	66
11	1	0	2	32	0	56	4	46
12	8	1	2	35	0	59	7	68

White, Female, Unanimous Majority, Other Pressure

1	0	0	2	31	0	59	7	68
2	2	1	2	34	0	58	6	52
3	0	0	2	29	0	47	3	62
4	4	0	0	16	0	47	4	--
5	15	1	0	38	0	60	4	58
6	5	0	4	46	3	45	5	72
7	3	0	2	31	0	43	9	68
8	8	1	2	46	1	43	6	63
9	9	0	2	36	0	56	3	67
10	0	0	6	44	3	56	8	68
11	7	2	0	39	6	42	4	68
12	15	1	2	35	3	41	4	67

Negro, Male, Nonunanimous Majority, Own Support

Subject	Conformity	Errors in Practice	Anxiety	Self-Blame	Social Distance	Birth Date^a	IQ	Socioeconomic Status^b
1	1	0	0	35	7	32	6	78
2	2	1	2	32	6	43	4	46
3	0	0	1	35	5	43	6	46
4	1	0	0	34	7	47	4	74
5	3	1	6	37	6	36	2	--
6	0	2	2	38	7	55	3	54
7	2	0	1	38	6	52	2	46
8	3	1	0	25	4	53	4	54
9	3	1	0	39	7	56	3	65
10	1	0	2	47	3	57	5	78
11	0	0	0	50	4	52	6	72
12	1	0	2	41	6	53	6	78

Negro, Female, Nonunanimous Majority, Own Support

1	0	1	2	33	3	38	6	49
2	1	0	0	40	5	48	2	46
3	6	1	2	40	7	42	3	46
4	2	0	2	45	7	49	7	73
5	3	0	0	38	6	52	4	75
6	0	0	2	48	6	51	5	48
7	0	0	0	28	4	60	2	--
8	2	0	4	28	4	51	3	44
9	1	0	0	32	6	56	3	87
10	0	0	6	47	3	57	2	78
11	0	0	4	43	4	56	5	68
12	1	0	2	51	4	51	4	34

White, Male, Nonunanimous Majority, Own Support

Subject	Conformity	Errors in Practice	Anxiety	Self-Blame	Social Distance	Birth Date[a]	IQ	Socioeconomic Status[b]
1	2	1	2	27	0	51	7	50
2	0	2	2	38	0	51	7	75
3	1	0	2	36	0	56	7	63
4	1	0	2	27	0	56	5	--
5	1	0	0	40	5	52	6	68
6	0	0	0	40	4	57	5	75
7	4	1	2	37	1	55	6	62
8	1	1	1	46	6	53	7	78
9	0	2	2	42	4	43	7	65
10	0	0	0	31	1	47	9	81
11	4	0	0	44	0	49	6	83
12	6	1	2	43	5	44	9	75

White, Female, Nonunanimous Majority, Own Support

1	1	1	2	34	0	60	7	60
2	4	1	2	49	0	52	7	65
3	1	1	2	47	5	57	8	79
4	0	0	2	25	0	44	4	73
5	3	0	2	36	0	51	6	--
6	3	0	2	39	0	60	6	53
7	4	0	0	43	2	46	4	68
8	1	1	0	46	4	57	7	86
9	5	1	2	40	0	44	9	66
10	0	0	4	43	0	45	2	52
11	0	0	2	33	0	47	6	65
12	2	1	2	44	1	34	6	58

Negro, Male, Nonunanimous Majority, Other Support

Subject	Conformity	Errors in Practice	Anxiety	Self-Blame	Social Distance	Birth Date^a	IQ	Socioeconomic Status^b
1	1	0	0	44	7	46	9	89
2	0	0	2	41	5	56	3	--
3	10	0	2	29	7	47	5	78
4	2	0	0	39	6	47	4	58
5	0	1	2	34	6	62	4	81
6	1	0	0	40	7	47	4	65
7	0	0	4	45	3	41	3	46
8	1	0	2	40	6	48	3	46
9	5	0	4	43	4	57	4	--
10	2	0	0	33	7	48	3	54
11	7	1	0	36	5	41	4	46
12	3	0	2	38	7	57	6	46

Negro, Female, Nonunanimous Majority, Other Support

1	1	0	2	38	6	52	2	74
2	0	0	2	43	5	51	2	46
3	2	0	2	36	3	46	3	46
4	1	0	2	31	5	45	3	78
5	11	0	0	30	1	59	2	68
6	11	0	2	49	2	57	3	47
7	1	0	2	24	6	41	3	46
8	2	2	2	38	2	47	3	73
9	1	1	2	46	5	47	2	46
10	2	0	2	28	4	56	5	44
11	0	0	2	51	1	47	3	53
12	6	3	2	39	7	48	4	48

White, Male, Nonunanimous Majority, Other Support

Subject	Conformity	Errors in Practice	Anxiety	Self-Blame	Social Distance	Birth Date[a]	IQ	Socioeconomic Status[b]
1	2	0	2	37	1	47	9	58
2	0	0	0	48	2	56	6	54
3	1	0	2	35	0	56	4	53
4	2	0	2	40	0	47	5	53
5	2	2	4	39	1	42	5	67
6	0	0	2	45	6	60	5	68
7	0	0	2	29	2	57	5	68
8	0	0	0	35	1	53	7	75
9	1	0	0	26	0	52	6	54
10	3	1	2	51	0	48	6	74
11	2	0	0	36	3	57	8	68
12	0	1	2	46	1	46	9	68

White, Female, Nonunanimous Majority, Other Support

1	2	1	2	45	0	50	8	75
2	1	0	4	47	0	57	5	84
3	2	1	2	36	2	54	8	88
4	0	0	2	26	1	42	7	--
5	3	2	2	33	0	39	9	68
6	0	1	0	42	3	57	4	68
7	5	0	0	38	1	56	6	74
8	8	1	2	24	0	46	5	68
9	3	0	2	45	4	57	6	84
10	4	1	6	46	2	61	6	93
11	6	1	2	40	1	54	5	75
12	2	1	1	44	0	47	4	68

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[a] The raw scores used in the analysis consisted of the last digit of the year in which the subjects

were born plus that portion of a year (in tenths) represented by the month of their birth. For instance, a score of 51 was assigned to a subject born in January, 1955.

[b] Information regarding the occupation of the parents of some subjects was unavailable.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Frank Wheeler Schneider was born on June 16, 1941, in Derby, Connecticut. In June, 1959, he graduated from Mount Hermon School, Mount Hermon, Massachusetts. In September, 1959, he enrolled at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, where he graduated with the Bachelor of Arts degree in June, 1963. He began his graduate work at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, in September, 1963, and received the Master of Science degree in June, 1965. Since September, 1965, he has been enrolled in the doctoral program in social psychology at the University of Florida.

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Frank Schneider is married to the former Shari Ruth Wendling.

This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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